128 are written with single symbols. Altogether the changes are:

Old orthography		New (modified) orthography
tc	affricate	č
ts	affricate	c
dl	affricate	ǯ
dz	affricate	ǰ
c	sibilant	š

HABITAT

101 131 Tübatulabal linguistic group includes three discrete bands: Tübatulabal proper, situated now as aboriginally on lower reaches of South Fork of Kern r.; Palagewan, formerly living on unaugmented Kern; Bankalachi, a few miles W of Palagewan on w. slopes of Greenhorn mts. (fig. 1). Tübatulabal [177] band alone has survived white contact; this study primarily concerned with culture of this group. Information gathered from Tübatulabal informants concerning Palagewan and Bankalachi is ascribed specifically to these latter bands.

●197 101 Linguistic affiliations and name.- Dialects of Tübatulabal and Palagewan, said by informants to be slightly different but mutually intelligible (Voegelin, 1935a, p. v), plus Bankalachi dialect which differed very little from that of Tübatulabal, comprise Tübatulabal language; this is sole language in Kern River branch, one of 4 primary branches, of Shoshonean stock (Kroeber, 1907, 97, 98, 100). To N and NE of Tübatulabal are Western Mono and Owens Valley Paiute (Eastern Mono), whose speech belongs to Mono-Bannock division of Plateau branch of Shoshonean; to E, Koso or Panamint of Shoshoni-Comanche division of Plateau Shoshonean; to SE and S, Chemehuevi and Kawaiisu of Ute-Chemehuevi division of Plateau Shoshonean. Farther SE, S, and slightly SW are Vanyume, Kitanemuk, and Alliklik respectively, of the Serrano division of Southern California branch of Shoshonean (Kroeber, Handbook, 577, pl. 78). To W and SW are Yokuts and farther SW Chumash (Kroeber, Handbook, pl. 78), neither Shoshonean.

101 Tübatulabal refer to themselves as pahkanapil; older informants also recognize tIbatulabal which "was applied like a nickname by other tribes such as the Chumash, Kawaiisu, and some Yokuts groups" (SM, PN). PN said pahkanapil also sometimes used term formerly to refer to themselves. Both SM, PN said 2 names given above applicable not only to group living on South Fork of Kern r., but to other group on unaugmented Kern as well; Kroeber (Handbook, 607) and Gifford (1917, 220) use Tübatulabal in this sense, treating the 2 groups as single unit. For several reasons I treat these 2 groups separately. In giving genealogy SM referred to himself and his father as pahkanapil, but to his father's father, who lived

101 on unaugmented Kern, as pa·lage·wan. This is term commonly used now for unaugmented Kern, but in this instance was translated as Kern River Indian. SM's use of term bears out Powers' statement, made in 1877, that "the Pal-li-ga-wo-nap [live] on Kern r.; the Ti-pa-to-la-pa on the South Fork of the Kern" (Powers, 393); Powers' information derived from member of Palagewan group, either Jose or Bill "Viejo" Chico (Powers, 394), both dead, but known to all my informants. Bancroft, 1875, on Maltby's authority, says "the Polokawynahs lived on Kern river" (Bancroft, 456). Gatschet, 1879, locates Pallegawonap E and SE of Tulare lake, on s. spurs of Sierra Nevada (U.S. Geog. Surv., 411).

173 History.- Tübatulabal say they always lived
[171] where found today; absence of migration legends is one of characteristics of Shoshone mythology
174 (Lowie, 233). On basis of specialization of their language Kroeber infers that Tübatulabal have lived in present isolated location for comparatively long period of time (Handbook, 605).
[101] Culturally Tübatulabal are borderline California-
[773] Great Basin group with probably more Great Basin traits than generally recognized; their myth-
● [197] ology predominantly that of Great Basin (Gayton, 1935a, 588, 595); linguistic differentiation of Tübatulabal may turn out to be superficial in many respects (Whorf, 607); all these factors suggest that occupation of present location may not have been for such long period as Kroeber suggests.

175 First white person to visit Palagewan was
177 Garcés in 1776 (Garcés, 280); guides for Fray Pedro Font in 1776 penetrated beyond junction of Kern and South Fork of Kern r. and met Indians there (Font, 390). During next 50 yrs. trading
[797] trips to Chumash villages near Ventura brought Tübatulabal and Palagewan in contact with San Buenaventura mission (SM), founded in 1782. By 1846 white settlers established ranches among Tübatulabal in South Fork valley (Morgan, 43).
[721] In 1857 Kern r. gold rush began in Palagewan territory. During 1862 a few Tübatulabal joined Owens Valley Paiute in hostilities against whites (Chalfant, 130; SM denied this) and about this
[621] time group of Koso Indians settled in Tübatulabal area, intermarrying chiefly with Kawaiisu, how-
[727] ever (SM, FP). In 1863 between 35-40 Tübatulabal and Palagewan men massacred near Kernville by American soldiery (SM, FP; Chalfant, 146; C. F. and E. W. Voegelin). Later in same yr. fairly large band of Owens Valley Paiute captives were conducted through Tübatulabal territory on way to Sebastian military reserve (Chalfant, 152), but owing to intercession of Judge Sumner of Kernville no Tübatulabal or Palagewan were re-
[241] moved with them (SM, PN). Between 1865-75 Tübatulabal began to practice agriculture (SM, FP);
[657] in 1893 majority of Tübatulabal and few Palagewan survivors allotted land in South Fork and Kern valleys.

2: Gifford E-5 (1915) 1917
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Kawaiisu NS 13

The Tübatulabal and their closely related western neighbors, the Bankalachi, form one of the four primary linguistic branches of the Shoshonean family, known as the Kern River branch.[2] The remaining branches are the Plateau, the Southern California, and the Pueblo. Compared with the territory of the Plateau branch that of the Kern River branch is infinitesimally small. Perhaps it is in consequence of this limited geographic range that scarcely a feature of the Tübatulabal kinship nomenclature proves to be unique, and this in spite of the linguistic divergence exhibited by the Tübatulabal language.

The Kawaiisu, the southern neighbors of the Tübatulabal, who are also to be discussed, speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi,[3] and are included in the great Plateau branch of the Shoshonean stock. As will be pointed out in the comparative portion of this paper, it appears probable that the Kawaiisu and Tübatulabal kinship systems have affected each other on account of the contact of the two peoples.

Thanks are due Dr. Edward Sapir for the use of his unpublished notes on Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute relationship terms.

Phonetic Transcription

In this paper c = sh, tc = ch as in church, ô = aw as in law, ŭ = u as in run, and ñ = ng as in sing. The sound represented by ü is neutral and is not to be understood as identical with German ü.[4] A period on the line between two vowels indicates that they have their ordinary phonetic value and do not form a diphthong.

Tübatulabal

Forty Tübatulabal terms of relationship were obtained. These include identical-reciprocals with diminutive suffixes. The diminutive suffix -bin or -vin is often added to an identical-reciprocal term to indicate the younger generation of the reciprocal relationship expressed by the single term, as aka (father's father) and aka*bin* (son's child, m. s.). The terms applied to relatives by marriage upon the death of the connecting relative have been omitted in the above figure. The term for grandparent and grandchild following the death of the connecting relative is included, however, as it is a special term (hoki),

[2] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 1907.

[3] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 97, 98, 100, 110, 1907.

[4] See the discussion of such sounds by A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., IV, 90, 91, 1907.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

The Tübatulabal.

Origin and movements.

101 With the Kawaiisu, the survey of the Plateau Shoshoneans in California is completed. We come now to an entirely distinct branch of the family—that of Kern River. There is only one people included in this divergent stem, the Tübâtulabal. Looking downstream, they face the utterly alien Yokuts. On their left are the Kawaiisu, on their right the Mono, at their back the Koso. They are thus nearly surrounded by members of all three divisions of the great Plateau branch.

•197 From what little knowledge is available, the speech of the Tübatu-
174 labal is, however, not more similar to the Plateau idioms than to the
131 Shoshonean idioms of southern California. A long separate history is thus indicated for them; and it is hard to imagine a more favorable location for such continued aloofness than the one they now occupy—a clean-cut valley in a high mountain region; within the true California of nature and yet at its edge; outside the wide Shoshonean plateau but at the same time bordering upon it. Even the element of contact with totally strange peoples is given—a factor that would at once stimulate, accelerate, and tend to perpetuate novelties of speech formation, and thus lead to the condition of this little people ranking coordinate with much greater divisions, in the classification of the family to which they jointly appertain.

The situation of the Tübatulabal thus partly accounts for their distinctiveness, and renders it unnecessary to assume any extreme length of time for their separateness. On the other hand, their language is so thoroughly specialized as compared with that of their neighbors, the western Mono and the Kawaiisu, whose location with reference to topography and contact with aliens is similar, that it is clear that the Tübatulabal have lived where they are now, or in the immediate vicinity, for a period several times as long as these two groups of their kinsmen.

173 The Tübatulabal are the people upon whom in particular has been fostered the slander, or the undeserved reputation, of issuing in warlike mood from their highland fastness and raiding the sluggish,

[P. 605]

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22
Bankalachi

765 faces of the mourners afterwards, and performed other services, for all of which they were paid.

The Bankalachi.

101 This small group was an offshoot from the Tübatulabal, that had
131 crossed the divide from Kern River and settled among the Yokuts
197 foothill tribes in the region where Deer Creek, White River, and
177 Poso Creek head. Their speech was only slightly different from that
563 of the Tübatulabal; but their associations were primarily with the Yokuts, and they probably followed the customs of the latter. Bankalachi (plural Bangeklachi) was their Yokuts name: the Tübatulabal called them Toloim. The majority of the little tribe are likely to have been bilingual; at any rate they were extensively intermarried with the Yaudanchi, Bokninuwad, Kumachisi, Paleuyami, and other Yokuts. Some of their blood flows in various of the Yokuts of to-day and something of their speech is not yet forgotten, but as a tribe they are extinct.

The Giamina.

000 The Yokuts occasionally mention a supposed Shoshonean tribe, called Giamina by them, in the vicinity of the Bankalachi, probably on Poso Creek. It is extinct. A few words have been secured from the Yokuts. These are indubitably Shoshonean, but not of any known dialect nor wholly of affiliation with any one dialect group. It is impossible to decide whether this brief vocabulary is only the result of a distorted recollection by an individual Yokuts of a smattering acquaintance with Shoshonean; or a sort of jargon Shoshonean that prevailed among the Kumachisi or some other Yokuts tribe; or the vanishing trace of a distinctive Shoshonean language and group. The last alternative is by no means precluded; but it may never be proved or disproved. The existence of the name Giamina signifies little, for it may be a synonym. But it is an old appellation. Father Cabot in 1818 encountered the "Quiuamine" in the vicinity of the Yokuts Wowol (Bubal), Choinok, and Yauelmani ("Yulumne").